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moisture. Sometimes the individual kinds of trees are noted, or the scented shrubs or flowers. A rich gallery of such landscapes is to be found in the poems. As examples of them reference may be made to the account of the sacred spring near Hymettus<sup>3</sup>, of the spot where Narcissus first saw his reflection in the water<sup>4</sup>, of the Lake Pergus where Proserpine gathered her violets and lilies<sup>5</sup>, of the fountain of Arethusa<sup>6</sup>, of the wood in which the Calydonian boar was hunted<sup>7</sup>, of the slaying of the dragon by Cadmus<sup>8</sup>, and the Cave of Sleep<sup>9a</sup>. As an illustration, the first of these landscapes may be cited here.

"Near to Hymettus with its flowery slopes  
A sacred spring lies, bordered with soft turf,  
In the low copsewood of a shady grove.  
The arbutue overspreads the verdant sward;  
The air around is fragrant with the scents  
Of laurels, rosemary, and myrtles dark;  
Nor is the box-tree absent, with its leafage dense,  
Nor fragile tamarisk, nor cythus,  
Beneath the shadow of the garden pine.  
Stirred by the zephyrs with their balmy breath,  
The boughs above wave gently to and fro,  
The taller grasses quiver underneath".

The description of the Cave of Sleep is one of the most wonderful efforts of the imagination which has come down to us from antiquity. Its crowded incidents and the weird atmosphere in which they are involved, show the poet at the very height of his genius for description.

When it is borne in mind that Ovid was born in one of the most picturesque tracts of the whole of Italy—the rugged highlands of the Abruzzi, not far from the highest peak of the Apennines, the huge Gran Sasso d'Italia, with its snowy covering that lasts throughout most of the year, it might have been expected that the landscapes of his native district would have evoked his enthusiasm, or would, at least, have found appreciative reference in his poetry. That he was really fond of Sulmo and the region of the Peligni may be inferred from the allusions which he not infrequently makes to them. He likes to remind the world that he is "Peligni ruris alumnus". But none of these allusions evince any strong emotion. In one of his elegies, which was actually written at his earliest home, and where the local influences should have been at their strongest, there is not the least glow of affection or fervour of admiration. He speaks coldly of Sulmo as a little place, but healthy and well-watered, never parched even in the dog-days; therefore covered with soft grass, fertile in corn, and still more so in vines, and, despite its thin soil, not without the olive. So little did he find to say about this native scenery that the references to some of the features here enumerated are given more than once in the ten lines devoted to the description. And at last, as if tired of the subject, he abruptly breaks off in order to lament the absence of his lady-love, on whose behalf he wishes the mountains to sink down and the roads in the winding valleys to be smooth<sup>9</sup>.

In another poem which concludes the series of his *Amores* he again alludes to his native district. He recalls the martial fame of the Pelignian race, but is convinced that the little town, covering only a few acres of ground, will have new lustre added to it from his own poetry. He represents some future stranger addressing the place in these words: "Small though you be, since you have borne so great a poet, I will call you great". And he flatters himself that as Mantua

rejoiced in having produced Virgil, and Verona could boast of Catullus, he himself would hereafter be called the glory of the Pelignian race<sup>10</sup>. In the misery of his exile, amongst the recollections of his life which crowded his memory, the thought of that Pelignian land mingled with the visions of his other country homes and his happy domestic life therein. He recalled his gardens on the pine-clad hills where the Clodian and Flaminian roads diverge, where he used to guide the water-channels to his crops, and planted those apples which were now gathered by some stranger whom he knew not<sup>11</sup>.

Where Ovid delineates scenes that have deeply affected him, his feeling for Nature and his descriptive power are most effectively combined. Thus he has left some singularly graphic pictures of storms at sea amidst which he was himself a rueful witness of their fury. His sketches of the climate and conditions of life on the shores of the Black Sea, where he spent some ten years of piteous exile and where he finally died, are vivid representations of how that region appeared to him in his misery. They show, however, that he was led, perhaps unconsciously, to write for effect and to indulge in strong exaggeration. While every allowance is to be made for a brilliant member of a gay society, stricken with such grief as was involved in banishment to so remote a spot, it is difficult to repress a smile when we find that the poet writes of Tomi as if it lay in the Arctic regions, and speaks of hard Fate ordering him to die under the icy pole<sup>12</sup>. It is true that the temperature in the coldest part of winter falls there below the freezing-point, but so it does on the uplands of the poet's Abruzzi<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, the summers at Tomi are as warm as in the centre of France. Ovid complains of being surrounded with naked barren plains, where neither trees nor leaves nor fruit are to be seen—places not to be approached by a man who would be happy<sup>14</sup>. His descriptions, inspired and coloured by the misery of his exile, are pitiable enough, yet although, as far as human society went, Tomi must have been a wild and savage place on the very confines of the Roman Empire, there is no reason to believe that its climate was materially different in the first century from what it is now.

C. K.

## AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

### 1. Personal

The personal coloring in the work of Ammianus Marcellinus is in strong contrast with that in the works of Livy, of Caesar, and of Tacitus<sup>1</sup>. The last remaining book of Livy deals with events occurring a little more than a century before his birth, and these he merely recorded with an occasional reflection. Though Caesar is the chief actor in his own works, he is as coldly impersonal as if he were recording the doings of another. Save for a very few items, Tacitus was not associated with the events he records. Ammianus was not only a writer, but also a participant in historical activities, and freely gives his connection with some of the most important portions. He was an *ingenuus* (19.8.6), a *comes* with Ursicinus in the Orient (14.9.1), and, returning to Italy in 357 A.D., was one of ten tribunes and protectors sent into Gaul

<sup>3</sup>Ars Am. 3.687-694.

<sup>4</sup>Met. 3.407-412.

<sup>5</sup>Met. 5.385-395.

<sup>6</sup>Met. 5.585-595.

<sup>7</sup>Met. 8.329-342.

<sup>8</sup>Met. 3.35.

<sup>9a</sup>Met. 11.592-612.

<sup>9</sup>Amores 2.16.

<sup>10</sup>Amores 3.15.8.

<sup>11</sup>Epp. ex Ponto 1.8.41-48.

<sup>12</sup>Epp. ex Ponto 4.15.36.

<sup>13</sup>Ovid, Fasti 4.81, refers to *Sulmo gelidus*. Horace, Carm. 3.19.8, speaks of Paelignian cold as proverbial.

<sup>14</sup>Tristia 3.10.71.

<sup>1</sup>Only Books 14-31 of Ammianus's work, *Rerum Gestarum Libri*, are extant.

with Julian (15.5.22). With other *adulescentes* (16.10.21) he returned to the East and took part in the final campaign of Julian. After this he came to Antioch with Jovian (19.8.12), and evidently withdrew from military service, as he was at Antioch during the repressive measures of Valens (29.2.4), and, as is indicated by 30.4.3, was for some time an advocate there. At some time in his life he visited Egypt (17.4.6), and Thrace (27.4.2), and travelled past the town of Mothone in Greece. It is learned from the Epistles of Libanus (983) that he was writing his history at Rome in 390 A. D.

The ethical and religious tendencies of Ammianus are clearly evident in his work. He mentions *prisca reverentia* (21.16.2), and clearly displays this in his vivid portrayal, in 14.6.4 ff., 16.10.6 ff., of conditions at Rome. References to the *numen* are not infrequent, as in 25.7.5 *Erat tamen pro nobis aeternum dei caelestis numen*; 14.11.24 *superni numinis aequitas*; 19.10.4 *divini arbitrio numinis*; 15.8.9 *arbitrium summi numinis*; 26.1.5 *numinis adspiratione caelestis*. Even more freely he uses *numinis nutu*, as in 31.10.18 *sempiterni numinis nutu*; and, in the words of Julian (15.8.10), the equivalent *nuii dei caelestis*. Some equivalent terms are *caelestis cura*, 18.3.1; *salutaris quidam genius*, 15.8.21, 16.12.13. References to an unfavorable *numen* are made, as in 14.11.12 *numine laevo ductante*; 31.4.9 *quasi laevo quodam numine deligente*.

Of equal rank is *aequitas*, in 21.13.13 *aequitate calcata, parente nutriceque orbis Romani*. However, the latter power is more frequently put as *Iustitia*. Notice the statement of her return to the earth (22.10.6). Compare also 28.6.25. . . *conticuit Tripolis non indefensa, quia vigilavit Iustitiae oculus sempiternus ultimaeque legatorum et praesidis dirae*; and 29.2.20. . . *inconivens Iustitiae oculus arbiter et vindex perpetuus rerum vigilavit attente*.

As the sum total of his views, and also as a fair illustration of his style, we quote 14.11.25:

Haec et huius modi quaedam innumerabilia ultrix facinorum impiorum bonorumque praemiatrix aliquotiens operatur Adrastia—atque utinam semper—quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesim appellamus: ius quoddam sublime numinis efficacis, humanarum mentium opinione lunari circulo superpositum, vel, ut definiunt alii, substantialis tutela generali potentia partibus praesidens fati, quam theologi veteres fingentes Iustitiae filiam ex abdita quadam aeternitate tradunt omnia despectare terrena.

The allotment of the Fates evolves the preestablished events for men (14.11.19), as in 19.8.2 *cum sors partium eventu regeretur indeclinabili*; 26.3.1 *Dum haec in Oriente volubiles fatorum explicant sortes*. . . Ammianus delineates fortune as does Horace (Carm. 1.34.12–16; 1.35). However, Adrastia tempers the changes (14.11.26). After some salient examples, we find, in 14.11.34, this: *Quae omnia si scire quisquam velit quam varia sint et adsidua, harenarum numerum idem iam desipiens et montium pondera scrutari putabit*. Auguries, auspices, and omens have their value as guides, and yet not in and of themselves (21.1.9). As a concise summary of his early views

on practical religion we give his brief statement, in 24.8.4: . . . *exstructis aris caesisque hostiis consulta numinum scitabamur*. . . .

With his religious meekness went a becoming modesty, as is indicated in 22.16.12; 27.11.1; 28.4.14 *non iudicii est nostri*; 23.4.1; 16.1.2 *instrumenta omnia mediocris ingenii*; 22.15.32 *opusculi nostri propositum*.

## 2. General Character of Ammianus's History

Ammianus's history furnishes information suited for different parts of the Empire. The description of the Saracens (14.4.1), of Thrace and the Pontic region (22.8.1), of Egypt (22.15), of the Persians (23.6), and of the advocates at Antioch (30.4.5) are for Western readers. On the other hand, what is said of Gaul (15.9.1), of the social life at Rome (14.6.3; 16.10.4) and of its populace, is for the East. Taken as a whole the work is primarily neither Roman nor Italian, but imperial. Rome, *victura dum erunt homines Roma* (14.6.3), is regularly the *aeterna urbs*, with an occasional variation, as in 27.3.3 *urbs sacratissima*. But only social conditions at Rome are presented, and Mediolanum is much more prominent as a center of military activity. Yet with this deference shown to Rome, compare 14.8.8 *Antiochia, mundo cognita civitas*; 22.9.14 *Antiochiam, Orientis apicem pulcrum*; 14.2.14 *urbium matris Seleucia*; 26.1.3 *Nicaeam*. . . *quae in Bithynia mater est urbium*; 22.16.7 *Alexandria enim vertex omnium est civitatum*. The words *dulcedo patriae* are assigned to Julian in 20.4.16, although he was addressing men to whom might be applied the statement of Tacitus (Agr. 32.12), *aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est*. The descendants of the 'stepsons of Italy' had become its nobility (28.4.7). They also had reached the highest offices (21.10.8): . . . *memoriam Constantini*. . . *<Julianus> vexavit, eum aperte incusans, quod barbaros omnium primus ad usque fasces auxerat et trabeas consulares*. . . . Social conditions were similar among the common people (28.4.28): . . . *otiosam plebem*. . . *in qua nitent ut nominibus cultis et quidam calceorum expertes, Cimessores, Statarii, Semicupae, et Serapini, et Cicimbricus cum Gluturino et Trulla, et Lucanicus cum Pordaca et Salsula, similesque innumeri*. Men were no longer trinomial but uninomial, and barbarians were omnipresent. Let a single illustration suffice. On the death of Constantius the messengers sent to Julian (21.15.4) were Theolaifus and Aligildus, then *comites*.

The center of power was with the army, and the sections of it were stationed so as to resist, if possible, the race-floes that were drifting in on the Empire. The Picts and the Scots in Britain, the Alamanni on the Rhine, the Goths on the Danube, and the Persians on the Tigris and the Euphrates required that the Emperors and their helpers be in touch with these places; see 26.5.1–5. The pressure on the West was relieved for a time by the great defeat of the Alamanni at the battle of Argentoratus (16.12). But there followed the disastrous Persian campaign, and the surrender by Jovian of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Then came the crushing defeat at Adrianople, in 378 A. D., when Valens and two-thirds of his army

were slain. The temporary advantage gained on the Rhine did not at all balance these two disasters. The first seemed to Ammianus without a parallel (25.9.7 ff.); to the other he saw a parallel only in the defeat at Cannae (31.13.19). Had the presentation been limited to outstanding historical facts, the work might have been brought within brief limits. But our author had his eyes on many lines of activity, and not the least interesting of the historical material is some that is extraneous. Variety is also sought by introducing other elements, such as have poetical coloring, as in 24.6.10: . . . cristatis galeis corusci Romani vibrantesque clipeos velut pedis anapaesti praecincentibus modulis lenius procedebant. . . .

### 3. Time

Ammianus gives solidarity to his work by a frequent use of the perfect tense, either with or without *dudum*, referring to some incident already recorded. Contrasted with this is the use of the future, referring to his own intentions, and of *postea*, as in 29.6.15, Theodosius iunior, prima etiam tum lanugine iuvenis, princeps postea perspectissimus. No effort is made to relate definitely the time of writing and that of the narrative. The continuation of something up to the present is indicated by *nunc usque* (14.2.13, 17.4.2), while *nunc* is more freely used, as in 23.4.4, scorpionis autem, quem appellant nunc Onagrum. This seems to indicate a recent change, but see 31.15.12 scorpio genus tormenti, quem Onagrum sermo vulgaris appellat; and Vegetius, Mil. 4.22, where no indication is given of a change of name. The references to the posterity of Hypatius (29.2.16), to the Quadi (29.6.1), and to the ruins of Carnuntum (30.5.2) merely show an indefinite lapse of time. Similar to these are 29.2.15 horret nunc reminisci; and 29.3.9 horrescit animus omnia recensere. These are literary reminiscences, recalling the experience of Aeneas, after an interval of seven years (Vergil, Aen. 2.12), and of Pliny the Younger (Epp. 6.20.1), after nearly thirty. The references to conditions in his own times are made with an eye to what Tacitus had already given. Thus, Tacitus, Hist. 1.1.17 rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet, suggests 27.9.4 et quoniam adest liber locus dicendi quae sentimus, aperte loquimur, as well as 14.6.6 licet. . . Pompiliani redierit securitas temporis, and 28.1.2 praesentis temporis modestia fretus. Compare with these 30.8.1:

. . . nunc confisi, quod, nec metu nec adulandi foeditate constricta, posteritas incorrupta praeteritorum solet esse spectatrix, summam eius numerabimus vitia, post et bene merita narraturi.

Rhetorically considered, the most interesting touches are the reference in 26.10.19 to the rotting ships swept inland by the tidal waves during the earthquake of 366 A.D.; and, in 31.7.16, that to the plains still glistening with the bones of those who fell in battle, 378 A.D. However, there are some fairly definite references to events about 390 A.D. In 26.5.14 Ammianus says of Neoterius, postea consul, tunc notarius. This must have been written after 390. The reference to the

Serapeum (22.16.12) must antedate 391. Of Probus, who was dead in 395, he writes, in 27.11.2, quoad vixit.

In the reference to Theodosius, quoted above, *princeps* may mean, in accordance with the usage of Ammianus, either leader or Emperor. But, with either meaning, we maintain that it was written before 395 A.D., when, for a few months, Theodosius was sole ruler of the entire Empire. It seems strange that Ammianus closed his history when the Empire was suffering from a great disaster. Had he lived until Theodosius was sole Emperor, we should expect that, as an imitator of Tacitus, he would have written something similar to Hist. 1.1.17 principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani, uberioremque materiam, senectuti seposui. But there is no such expression, either of hope or of regret, in the last paragraph of his work (31.16.9), and we take it as an epilogue of a work prematurely ended, and written before 395 A.D.

### 4. Sources

The concluding paragraph of Ammianus's work shows that he was a Greek, a participant in military activities, steadfast in his search for truth, and conscious of his limitations as a writer. Of the first fact there are a number of illustrations scattered through the work; see e.g. 26.1.1, 22.9.6, 15.9.3. Ammianus lived during the period covered by the extant books (14–31), but his military career apparently ended in 363 A.D. (25.10.1). As wars were being carried on in many places (26.5.15), he must have gathered his information from others, and they did not always agree. In 27.4.2, instead of trying to harmonize what he found in regard to Thrace, he falls back on the memory of what he had seen. Similar passages are found in the earlier books, as in 14.4.6, 16.5.15, 21.16.2. There are also indications of reliance on others, as in 16.5.8, 14.11.20, 22.15.26, 15.9.5. As a sufficiently clear statement of his method throughout, we quote 15.1.1:

Ut cumque potuimus veritatem scrutari, ea quae videre licuit per aetatem, vel perperle interrogando versatos in medio scire, narravimus ordine casuum exposito diversorum: residua quae secuturus aperiet textus, pro virum captu limatius absolvemus, nihil obtractatores longi, ut putant, operis formidantes. Tunc enim laudanda est brevis cum moras rumpens intempestivas nihil subtrahit cognitioni gestorum.

### 5. Use of the Excursus

The sentence just quoted, giving his views in regard to brevity, suggests a consideration of brevity as one of the elements of his style. He insists on the omission of minutiae (28.1.15, 27.2.11, 23.1.1). Yet, in giving his own experiences, he does not always distinguish between what is personally interesting and what is historically important. Some things that perhaps would have been excluded as trivial if they had been found elsewhere are given in his story of Julian's Persian campaign. We shall mention only the boy caught up and carried along in the flight of the Romans (18.6.10); the lighted lantern tied to a beast, that the enemy might be misled (18.6.15); the dead man dragged by the reins which he had tied to his left arm (19.8.7); the drunken soldier killed by the

enemy after he had crossed a river (24.1.16); and, not least in interest, the squalling of the little Varronianus because he did not wish to be carried in the curule chair (25.10.11). Yet his general principle seems to have been this (24.4.19): *sed in districtis necessitatibus nihil tam leve est, quod non interdum, etiam contra sperata, rerum adferat momenta magnarum.*

The events of the years 353 to 378 A. D., the period covered by Ammianus, might have been put in briefer compass. Half of Book 26 is given to the attempt of Procopius to seize supreme power, and one third of Book 29 to the operations of Theodosius in Africa. It takes 160 lines to relate the operations of some marauders in Pisidia (14.2). Even *in mediis rebus* he is deliberate. He pauses in the midst of his description of the carnage and wasting pestilence at Amida to explain the origin of different kinds of disease (19.4). This use of the excursus is one of the outstanding features of his History. Its use is incidental for Caesar (B. G. 6.12. ff.), brings forth an apology from Livy (9.17 ff.), and requires a justification from Tacitus (Agr. 10 ff.; Ann. 6.12 ff.; Hist. 5.2 ff.). The content of the reference to Papirius Cursor (30.8.5) shows that Livy's excursus referring to Alexander was known to Ammianus, who developed an incidental to a characteristic usage. Approximately one-sixth of his work is taken up in this way.

An outline of three excurses will be given.

There is a long description of Gaul, beginning at 15.9.1. It starts with the Aborigines, and names Timagenes as authority (15.9.2): *... et diligentia Graecus et lingua, haec quae diu sunt ignorata collegit ex multiplicitibus libris. Cuius fidem secuti obscuritate dimota eadem distincte docebimus et aperte.* The portrayal of the Alps is done with an eye to Livy (21.32 ff.). In writing, as part of the account of *tempora prisca* (15.11.1), the words *haec partes*... tripertitae fuisse creduntur in Celtas eosdemque Gallos divisae et Aquitanos et Belgas, lingua institutis legibusque discrepantes, Ammianus was thinking of Caesar, B. G. 1.1.1. With 15.11.7, *At nunc numerantur provinciae*, begins a section by Ammianus. Chapter 12 contains a description of the people, closing with a reference to Sallust. Among the most interesting touches is one of sarcasm (15.12.3): *... nec eorum aliquando quisquam, ut in Italia, munus Martium pertimescens pollicem sibi praecidit, quos locatiter murcos appellant.*

In connection with Germanicus's visit to Egypt in 19 A.D., Tacitus devotes less than two short chapters to the wonders of Egypt (Ann. 2.60-61). The mention of the erection of an obelisk at Rome (17.4.1) leads Ammianus to describe the hieroglyphics, just as the mention of Apis (22.14.6) calls forth a detailed account of Egypt. His words about the crocodile are worth quoting (22.15.16): *utque armatus est unguibus, si haberet etiam pollices, ad evertendas quoque naves sufficeret viribus magnis*...

There is an ironical chapter worthy to be placed with Petronius (1-2), and taken as the consummation of the decline of oratory described in Tacitus, *Dialogus De Oratoribus*. It is called forth by the author's

own experience at Antioch (30.4.4): *... indignitate. . . quam in illis partibus agens expertus sum.* After mentioning Demosthenes, Hyperides, Aeschines, Dinarchus, Andocides, and Antiphon, he passes to old Roman worthies, the Rutilii, the Galbae, the Scauri, and then, in §§6-7, to Crassi et Antonii et cum Philippis Scaevolae alique numerosi. . . . *Post quos excellentissimus omnium Cicero, orationis imperiosae fluminibus saepe depressos aliquos iudiciorum eripiens flammis, "non defendi homines sine vituperatione fortasse posse, neglegenter defendi sine scelere non posse"* firmabat. This may be taken as an adaptation of the characterization of Cicero's oratory (Longinus, *De Sublimitate* 12.4), as an all-devouring flame, the use of *flammis* requiring a transformation of the comparison; compare *Staphira*, ubi Aristotelem, ut Tullius ait, fundentem aureum flumen accepimus natum (27.4.8). As this part reveals the author at the acme of his style, we shall quote at length from 30.4.8, 12, 13, 17:

*At nunc videre est per Eoos omnes tractus violenta et rapacissima genera hominum per fora omnia volitantium, et subsidientium divites domus, ut Spartanos canes aut Cretas, vestigia sagacius colligendo ad ipsa cubilia pervenire causerum.*

*Hi ut altius videantur iura callere, Trebatium locuntur et Cascellium et Alfenum et Auruncorum Sicanorumque iam diu leges ignotas, cum Euandri matre abhinc saecules obrutas multis. Et si voluntate matrem tuam finxeris occidisse, multas tibi suffragari absolutionem lectiones reconditas pollicentur, si te senserint esse nummatum.*

*... inter sollicitudines iudicum per multa distentas inre solubili nexu vincientes negotia, laborant ut omnis quies litibus implicetur, et nodosis quae stionibus de industria iudicia circumscribunt, quae, cum recte procedunt, delubra sunt aequitatis, cum depravantur, foveae fallaces et caecae; in quas si captus ceciderit quisquam, non nisi per multa exiliet lustra, ad usque ipsas medullas exsuctus.*

*... et si in circulo doctorum auctoris veteris inciderit nomen, piscis aut edulii peregrinum esse vocabulum arbitrantur: si vero advena quisquam inusitatum sibi antea Marcianum verbo tenus quaesierit oratorem, omnes confestim Marcianos appellari se fingunt.*

## 6. Illustrations

Akin to these, but briefer, are a large number of illustrations derived from both Greek and Roman sources. By means of these, Ammianus gave a uniformity of ethical tone to the present and the past. If some great deed is mentioned, he finds a counterpart of it in the achievement of some hero of the past, as in the statement concerning Julian (24.4.27):

*Ex virginibus autem, quae speciosae sunt captae, ut in Perside, ubi feminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre, Alexandrum imitatus et Africanum, qui haec declinabant ne frangerentur cupiditate, qui se invictos a laboribus ubique praestiterunt.*

So far as the Roman examples are concerned, it makes no difference whether they were derived directly from extensive works, as those of Cicero and Livy, or immediately from Valerius Maximus. Some, however, are not found in Valerius, as the story of the discovery

by Hasdrubal of the speediest way to kill elephants (25.1.16), which is drawn from Livy (27.49.1-2), and that of Papirius Cursor and the Praenestine praetor (30.8.5), an adaptation of the account of Livy (9.16.19.) Valerius (9.5.Ext.3) mentions the incident of Maharbal's remarks to Hannibal, but does not have the famous words found in 18.5.6 and Livy 22.51.4. The story about Duillius is given thus (26.3.5): Duillium accepimus. . . id sibi sumpsisse ut tibicine lenius praecinentes rediret ad sua post cenam. This could be derived more readily from Cicero, Cato Maior 44 redeuntem a cena. . . videbam; delectabatur cereo funali et tibicine, than from Valerius Maximus 3.5.4, ad funalem cereum praeunte tibicine et fidicine a cena domum reverti solitus est. The same is true of the story about Sophocles (25.4.2), amorem ut rabiosum quendam effugisse dominum et crudelem, which gives two adjectives, as does Cicero, Cato Maior 47, sicut ab domino agresti ac furioso profugi. Valerius Maximus (4.3.Ext.2) has tamquam ex aliqua furiosa profugi dominatione. In both of these Ammianus seems to have gone directly to Cicero and to have adapted the stories without reference to Valerius.

### 7. Proverbs

Ammianus's history is fairly thickset with proverbs. Probably the best known, because of its connections with St. Paul (Acts 9.5, 26.14), is *ne contra acumina calcitraret* (18.5.1). There is a suggestion in 16.3.3 that Julian is another Atlas or Hercules, bellorum inundantium molem umeris suis, quod dicitur, vehens. Some proverbs are the equivalent of still persistent sayings, as de fumo, ut proverbium loquitur vetus, ad flammam (14.11.12), and de fumo, ut aiunt, in flammam (28.1.26); velificatione tranquilla, ut aiunt, ferebatur ad gloriam (29.2.22); extra calcem, quod dicitur, sermo decurrens (21.1.14), and extra calcem, ut dicitur, procurrebat; veritas respiravit oppressa (16.8.6); compare Livy 22.39.19 veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, extinguunt numquam). In 14.11.12, quoted above, and in 16.5.9, Ammianus tells us that he is quoting an old proverb, clitellae bovi sunt inpositae: plane non est nostrum onus. Compare 28.4.26 eandem incudem diu noctuque tundendo. Still he has pares cum paribus, without the mark of a proverb (16.12.47, 28.1.53), perhaps because Cicero (Cato Maior 7) had already put the mark on. Among the undesignated we place ventis loquebatur in cassum (15.5.8, 25.9.2); aequatio leviora facit pericula (26.10.10); validiores sibi pinas aptare (16.7.2); and nec in alienis malis quorundam exarescerent lacrimae: quod. . . plerumque contingit (28.1.39). After giving recto pectore, quod dicitur (17.5.9), Ammianus apologetically assumes the rôle of proverb-maker with libero pectoris muro, ut ita dixerim, saeptus (20.8.9). Compare this form of statement with verum illud. . . quod opinantur quidam, fatum vinci principis potestate vel fieri (17.12.17), to which *proverbium* could as justly be added as in Seneca's qui verum proverbium fecerat, aut regem aut fatum nasci oportere (Apocolocyntosis 1.1). The examples quoted show a striving for variation in statement, though most of the others are

given with *ut aiunt* (18.5.6, 19.5.2, 21.9.3); *quod aiunt* (19.12.5, 20.1.2; but without, 27.11.2); *ut dicitur* (28.1.10); *quod dicitur* (22.3.12). There is a suggestion of widest application in 29.2.26, where, after quoting some Greek, he adds an explanation and translation: quod dici proverbialiter solet, ut audiens altius aliquid agendum agnoscat.

### 8. Comparisons

Similes and all forms of comparison are numerous, and are especially varied in form; more than a dozen introductory terms are used. *Ferae* and *bestiae* are the terms which occur most frequently, and are interesting as giving the impression produced on a Greek by barbarians: compare e.g. Gothi. . . ut ferae (31.9.1); barbari tamen velut diffractis caveis bestiae (31.8.9); ut bestiarum obiceremur intractabilibus feris (15.5.23). In 31.8.8 there is a more refined statement, cum beluae ritu traheretur ingenuus. Ammianus had either seen or had read of serpents, for they are next in importance. Some similes are short, e.g. Gallus ut serpens adpetitus telo vel saxo (14.7.13), veluti serpentium vultus (15.7.4), tamquam subterraneus serpens (28.1.7), longius nocens, ut basilisci serpentes (28.1.41). Others are developed, e.g. 18.4.4 ut coluber; 19.13.1; 15.2.4:

ut enim subterraneus serpens, foramen subsidens occultum, adsultu subito singulos transitores observans incescit, ita ille. . . nec laesus aliquando nec lacessitus, inexplibili quodam laedendi proposito conscientiam polluebat.

Of equal development is *ut clam mordax canis*. . . agitans caudam (15.3.5), *ut leo* (19.3.3), and *tamquam leo* (29.4.7). In some passages there is a historical parallel, e.g. Ursicinus. . . ut Domitius Corbulo (15.2.5), *ut Mantuanus vates* (15.9.1), or emphasis is laid on like positions, e.g. sollicitus semper. . . utque cautus navigandi magister, clavos pro fluctuum motibus erigens vel inclinans, compellor. . . (21.13.10). Occurrences of *ut solet* or *solent* are not infrequent, indicating a uniformity of activities, e.g. *ut in arduis necessitatibus solet* (26.9.9) and *ut in rebus solent adflictis* (18.8.7). The occurrences with other terms are generally briefly stated, one object or action being simply placed by another, and the felicity of the comparison is in the mind of the reader: *arborea palmarum*. . . instar ingentium nemorum (24.3.12), *copiae in modum alitum ferebantur* (19.2.12), *Graeculorum more strepentes* (22.6.2), *ritu grandinis undique volantibus telis* (31.7.13), *ferarum similes rabie concitarum exsiluere* (28.6.4), *indutus a calce in pubem in paedagogiani pueri speciem* (26.6.15).

Logically allied to these examples is a considerable number of rhetorical insets, virtually comparisons, but without comparative particles. The portrayal of the eunuch Euthierus begins as follows (16.7.4): *Sed inter vepres rosae nascuntur et inter feras non nullae mitescunt. Itaque carptim eius praecipua, quae sunt conperta, monstrabo*. An example of the ways of birds is brought in with an argument for man's foreknowledge (18.3.9):

Linquentes Orientem anseres ob calorem plagamque petentes Occiduam cum montem penetrare coeperint

Taurum aquilis abundantem, timentes fortissimas volucres, rostra lapillis occidunt, ne eis eliciat vel necessitas extrema clangorem, isdemque collibus agiliore volatu transcuris proiciunt calculos atque ita securius pergunt.

The rapacity and the ignorance of the soldiers are illustrated as follows (22.4.8):

Notum est enim sub Maximiano Caesare, vallo regis Persarum direpto, gregarium quendam post sacculum Parthicum, in quo erant margaritae, repertum, proiectis imperitia gemmis abisse, pellis nitore solo contentum.

The valor of a squad of Gauls is commended in this way (19.6.11):

... qui non Rhesum nec cubitantes pro muris Iliacis Thracas, sed Persarum regem armatorum centum milibus circumsaepum, ni obstitisset violentior casus, in ipsis tentoriis obtruncarant.

#### 9. Characterizations

Ammianus catalogues the *virtutes* and the *vitia* of the leading men, following a practice which is noticeable in the accounts of Alexander the Great. The most elaborate delineation is that of Julian (25.4.1):

Vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis, claritudine rerum et coalita maiestate conspicuus. Cum enim sint, ut sapientes definiunt, virtutes quattuor praecipuae, temperantia, prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo, eisque accedentes extrinsecus aliae, scientia rei militaris, auctoritas, felicitas, atque liberalitas, intento studio coluit omnes ut singulas.

These traits differ but verbally from those given by Cicero (*De Officiis* 1.5; *De Imperio Pompeii* 28). However, they are not quite sufficient for Julian, and the discussion of them is introduced by a section on *castitas* in which are given an anecdote about Sophocles, and a saying of Bacchylides. The *vitia* are briefly stated with mitigating features, and the conclusion (20-21) gives two exceptions to laws otherwise favorable—prohibition of teaching by Christians, and the admission of outsiders to municipal assemblies.

Imperial power and Christian practice were not well blended in the case of Constantius, and his good points are presented *carptim* (21.16), and his vices, in which he surpassed Caligula, Domitian, and Commodus, at length. Cicero and Heraclitus are quoted, and a fine simile is introduced (21.16.11):

... Et tamquam ex arida silva volantes scintillae flatu leni ventorum ad usque discrimina vicorum agrestium incohibili cursu perveniunt, ita ille quicque ex minimis causis malorum congeries excitabat. . . .

Valentinian (30.7-8) and Valens (31.14.1-7) are portrayed at length, but Gallus is almost concealed between an account of Adrastia (14.11.25-26) and illustrations of changes of fortune (14.11.29-34).

Characterizations by a single noun or adjective are not infrequent, and may be taken as Antiochianisms, or at least as evidence that during his career as an advocate there his language had acquired a genuine Antiochian spice. As evidence of this latter, notice (in 22.14.3):

Ridebatur <Iulianus> enim ut Cercops, homo brevis humeros extentans angustus et barbam prae se ferens hircinam, grandiaque incedens tamquam Oti frater et Ephialtis, quorum proceritatem Homerus in inmensum

tollit, itidemque victimarius pro sacricola dicebatur. . . .

However, this may have been a mimicry of the palace (17.11.1):

... ut hirsutum Iulianum carpentes appellantesque loquacem talpam et purpuratam simiam et litterionem Graecum: et his congruentia plurima aequae ut tintinnabula principi resonantes. . . .

We find in 14.1.2 the following of the wife of Gallus:

... Megaera quaedam mortalis, inflammatrix saevientis <Galli> adsidua, humani cruoris avida nihil mitius quam maritus.

Compare with these terms a number of others equally pungent: delator funestus (15.3.9); Tartareus delator (15.6.1); Tartareus cognitor (28.1.10); Tartareus fabricator (29.2.6). Not much different are igneus incensor (15.1.2); nefarius incensor (16.12.24); ferreus cognitor (28.1.40); iudex, quin immo praedo, nefandus (28.1.55); Palladius ille, coagulum omnium aerumnarum (29.2.1); and transferendae in alios invidiae artifex (27.9.2). Sometimes a good point is set forth: indclinabilis. . . distinctor (18.1.2); efficaciae impetrabilis rex (14.8.5). Abstract qualities are also emphasized: inexplabili detestatione (18.4.5); indissolubili ira (15.3.4); perspicua fide (22.8.1); ancillari adulatione (16.2.2); Adrasteo pallore (14.11.22); in Cimmeriis tenebris (29.2.4); mordaces susurros (20.2.1); ferinis morsibus (15.3.3); vipereis, ut ita dixerim, morsibus (22.11.3).

#### 10. Literary References and Adaptations

There are a few embellishments drawn from Grecian sources. Ammianus quotes from Menander in 21.14.4, where he marshals both Greeks and Romans to show that the gods hold converse with men. He refers a number of times to Homer, and to Simonides (14.6.7), has an anecdote, drawn from Cicero, about Sophocles (25.4.2), and mentions the grave of Euripides (27.4.8). Herodotus is cited for a fact about the pyramids (22.15.28), and Thucydides for an account of the plague at Athens (19.4.4), and for the statement that the Athenians were the first to put aside the wearing of swords at feasts (23.6.75). Ammianus refers to a well-known act of Epaminondas (25.3.8), has crudelem ut Phalarim (26.10.5), associates Amphiarus and a Marcius (14.1.7), and, after mentioning typical heroes, adds in 24.6.14, . . . non minus illo die quorundam ex nostris inclarusse virtutem omnium confessione monstratur.

With the satire on the decline of oratory at Antioch (30.4) may be placed a brief statement of conditions at Rome (28.4.14):

Quidam, detestantes ut venena doctrinas, Iuvenalem et Marium Maximum curatore studio legunt, nulla volumina praeter haec in profundo otio contractantes, quam ob causam non iudicii est nostri.

Shall we measure the certainty of the knowledge of Ammianus concerning things literary by 17.4.5?

... Cornelius Gallus. . . Aegypti procurator. . . stricto incubuit ferro. Is est, si recte existimo, Gallus poeta, quem flens quodam modo in postrema Bucolicorum parte Vergilius carmine leni decantat.

Vergil is *Mantuanus vates* (15.9.1), *poeta praeclarus* (19.9.7), and *eminentissimus vates* (31.4.6).

Other poetical phrases may be considered not as recollections, but as permeations in the current speech, e. g. 19.6.1 *adspiravit*. . . *fortuna* (Aen.2.385); 19.12.2 *obstinatum fixumque* (Aen.4.15); 24.2.21 *demissus per funem* (Aen. 2.252). Little pieces from Horace are more numerous: e. g. 16.7.8 *ex omni latere*. . . *perfectum*, 27.7.2 *omni ex parte perfectus* (Carm.2.16.27 *nihil est ab omni parte beatum*), 27.8.10 *iusti tenacem et recti* (Carm.3.3.1 *iustum et tenacem propositi*), 29.5.46 *orbis terrarum domini* (Carm. 1.1.6), 23.6.78, etc., *immane quantum* (Carm.1.27.6). A variation of this appears in 16.12.61, etc., *immensum quantum ab eo differens*. The spirit of the famous dictum of Terence (Heauton 77), *humani nil a me alienum puto*, is expressed in 27.6.12 *nihil alienum putare*, quod ad Romani imperii pertinet salutem. The words of Plautus (Most. 524), *pax mihi cum mortuis*, are utilized in 18.7.7 *quasi fundata cum mortuis pace nihil formidans*. Ammianus acknowledges, indefinitely, the source of his words, in 15.13.3, *abiectione ignavus et, ut ait comicus, arte despecta furto rapiens propalam*.

A score and a half of quotations from Cicero bespeak the advocate-author, rather than the historian. There are also unacknowledged reminiscences, e. g. *quo usque* in the rhetorical question (18.6.23) and *quicquid increpisset* (14.5.2), which need no tag. Instead of *auctoritatem*, its definition (Cato Maior 61) is given in 27.7.2 *velut apicem senectutis honoratae praetendens*. Caesar is not mentioned, though we may assume that Ammianus noticed some things because he had read of them in Caesar. Thus, e. g. in 19.7.4 he notes that no weapon falls in vain (compare B.G. 3.25.1); in 31.12.13 he marks the delay of the barbarians that their cavalry might return (B.G.4.11.4). With the action of Procopius in 26.6.12, *aleam periculorum omnium iecit*, compare Suetonius, Iulius 32. Compare tamquam scopulos cavebat abruptos (22.10.2) and the words of Caesar, *Habe semper in memoria atque in pectore, ut tamquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum* (Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae 1.10.4). Notice also 30.8.2 *omnia nimia velut praerupti scopuli sunt devitanda*. Sallust is mentioned (15.12.6), and in 17.1.7, *ut enim rebus amat fieri dubiis et turbatis*, our author had in mind Sallust's quae ira fieri amat (Jug.34.1; compare Quintilian 9.3.17).

The division, in 14.6.3 ff., of the life of Rome into ages corresponding to man's, differs from that in Florus, Praef. 4-8, though the lengths given for the first age, *fere trecentis, prope quadringentos*, may be merely scribal variations from the number in Livy. However this may be, Livy is utilized both in the large and in the small. In 17.5.14 are assigned to Julian the words, in proeliis quibusdam raro rem titubasse Romanam, in summa vero bellorum numquam ad deteriora prolapsam, an expansion and variation of Livy 9.18.9, *etsi nullo bello, multis tamen proeliis victus sit*. In 25.9.5, people are driven from a city as from Alba (Livy 1.29). Some of Livy's phraseology is taken over bodily: *silentium triste* occurs in 26.6.18. In 25.8.1-2,

men are drowned as they were at the battle of Lake Trasimene (Livy 22.7), or float, as men floated on the Rhone (Livy 21.28). In 24.1.11 there is a storm such as struck Hannibal when he was crossing the Alps (21.58). The comparison in 29.5.32, *ut antiquus ille Cunctator*, and the comment in 16.2.11 *erat providus et cunctator, quod praecipuum bonum in magnis ductoribus opem ferre solet exercitibus et salutem*, shows that Ammianus was acquainted with Livy 22.39.20 ff. *Nandi* (16.12.55) Ammianus uses with an eye to *nando* (Livy 22.6.6). So we may compare *neutrubi proelio inclinato* (19.2.13) and Livy 1.25.4 *neutro inclinata spe*. *Territis ut omine diro* (21.2.2) is like *territis duplici prodigio* (Livy 21.3.14). So miles ea mora tantum modo tenebatur (25.6.15) is like *ut ea causa*. . . *tenuerit* (Livy 22.45.4). The thought in Seneca's fine comparison (Dial.11.9.7), *nullus portus nisi mortis est*, is reproduced in 31.5.14: *ad speciosam pro re publica mortem tamquam ad portum aliquem tranquillum properabant et placidum*. There is said to be no evidence of the use of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, yet dum licentem amentiam libertatem existimarent (17.13.23) looks like *licentiae*, quam stulti libertatem vocant (Dial.40.9). Ammianus freely adapts the words of Tacitus. Compare e. g. 16.12.59, *vultum ne agnosceretur operiens*, said of the barbarian chieftain, with the account of Arminius, Ann. 2.17.15, *oblitus faciem suo cruore, ne nosceretur*.

There are about a score of references to Alexander the Great, to whose acts those of Julian are frequently described as parallel. Still the resemblances in phraseology to Curtius may be assigned to the use of common Greek sources. However, in the record of one of the experiences of Julian with the soothsayers (25.3.7), nothing is said about a somewhat similar experience of Alexander at Gaza (Curtius 4.6.12 ff.).

(To be concluded)

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## THE CLASSICAL LEAGUE OF LEHIGH VALLEY

Last spring, at Lehigh University, The Classical League of Lehigh Valley was formed. The programme included an address of welcome, by the Acting-President of Lehigh University, Dr. Natt M. Emery, and four papers, as follows: A Plea for the Classics, by Professor George T. Ettinger, of Muhlenberg College, The Great Literary Revival in the Second Century A.D., by Professor Charles J. Goodwin, of Lehigh University, Christian Spirit in Horace, by Professor Horace W. Wright, of Lehigh University, and The Classics as Humanities, by Professor John R. Crawford, of Lafayette College. Professor Goodwin dwelt especially upon the Moral Essays of Plutarch, and the immortal contributions to the highest and finest thought of the world made by the two great Stoic philosophers of the second century, Marcus Aurelius, occupant of the throne, and Epictetus, the slave.

The following officers were elected: President, Professor Goodwin; Vice-President, Professor Crawford; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Mary Hess, High School, Bethlehem; Chairman of the Executive Committee, Professor Wright.

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

HORACE W. WRIGHT